the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[1]

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[1] *Eso Fūzoku Ison* 2: 1.

the central character had been the *Basho* contractor. Now *Omusha* is taken over as a Shogunal ceremony and its connection with contractors becomes slight. This tendency is most conspicuous in East Ezo where direct trade was carried out. For another thing, in previous times *Omusha* had marked the grand closing of the fishing season whereas this now diminishes in importance and the settlement of the seasonal fishing accounts is conducted separately from *Omusha*. In addition a ceremony quite similar to *Omusha* was beginning to be held when officials arrived on inspection tours. That is, instructions were read to the natives, gifts presented to those with titles, those who worked hard, those with good conduct records, aged widowers, those without relatives, the ill, and those in need. This ceremony was carried out with great regularity after the Russian incursions of 1806–1807.[8] Ceremonies carried out during inspection trips made by magistrates or inspectors or by *Basho* officials were of a similar nature although on a much smaller scale.[9]

2. RELIEF MEASURES AND POLICY

While various means of appeasement were utilized by the Japanese government, the random giving of gifts was avoided as much as possible. An extreme example of this policy, which was decried by Mogami Tokunai, is cited below:

> The opinion of officials is that it is better to control the people by setting up laws, even if there are complaints about the law, than to give away goods to make them happy, since the latter method can scarcely be expected to last very long. This sounds like a reasonable opinion but it is a mistaken one. The enactment of laws despite the practical situation of the people is applicable only to the farmers of Japan. This same method when applied to the Ezo who are yet to be considered as good as other people might well be called "Blind Administration by Power" as is stated in the Canon of History. People coerced into submission by stringent national laws can hardly be called "treasures of the nation."[10]

However, the Bakufu did not hesitate to aid the poor, the needy, and the widowed. The following article which was to be read as part of the *Omusha Moshi Kikasesho* [Instructions to be read at Omusha] on Etorofu Island was probably actually carried out:

> *Otona* and *Kozukai* shall see to it that the blind and crippled, the old and homeless are well taken care of. These people shall also be reported to the *Kaishō* where appropriate aid will be given.

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[8] Hotta Settsu no kami e Rōjū kakitori (Letter from the Shogunal Council to Lord Hotta of Settsu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1216.

[9] Examples can be found in the *Heishin Jōtetsu* taken from the visits made by Lord Kawajiri of Higo in 1808 and by Lord Arao of Tajima. *Edo Sōsho* [Collection of materials on Edo] 11: 287–289.

[10] Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* 2. Section on "Matters disliked by the Ezo."

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Although a good example of this type of action cannot be found it is confirmed by the Supplement to *Kyumei Kōki* which states that when officials came on inspection trips the Ezo flocked to express their gratitude for "the necessary aid given to the aged and those with incurable diseases."[11] It cannot be true, as was then believed, that the Ezo were all an ignorant and helpless people but their livelihood did depend on nature and was therefore at the mercy of natural calamity and famine which could result in the starvation of many.[12] The Bakufu was seriously interested in this problem and ordered each *Basho* to store away part of its produce to relieve the Ezo of the fear of famine and to extend relief whenever there was danger of such an event. Part of the *Kahei ukeoi no uchi nainai bannin no kokorousho* [Secret Instructions to Guards during the contract period Kahei] on Etorofu deals with this:

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1. The preparation of dried trout by villagers. This task has, in the past, been carried out during the latter part of the fishing season. But recently there have been years when the season has lasted only a day or two and therefore it is advised that this task be started immediately after the season opens. First of all a drying rack should be set up at a sunny spot and the fish, the amount of which is to be determined by the size of a family, be dried. Some families may require a total of 300 bundles, some 500 or 1,000 or even 1,500.

All women and those aged capable of working should be allotted this task and the needed amount must be ready by the end of the season.

2. Estimation of the amount of dried fish. The necessary amount per person, regardless of age, is 2 tails per day or 3 bundles per month. From November to March the total amount per person would be 15 bundles or 1,500 bundles for 100 people. Amounts needed shall be calculated according to the above.

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Thus the contractors oversaw the preparation of winter provisions, a job which, till then, had been carried on by the natives of their own volition. It was natural for the contractors to assume this responsibility because their industrial plans included utilizing all Ezo manpower and it was also one of the means by which the surplus production of the Ezo was absorbed. Nevertheless, the Ezo were now able to secure their food supply throughout the winter and in case of short-

[11] Kunashiri to chiri sono hoka no gi Shozaemon moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Shozaemon on the geography and other matters pertaining to Kunashiri Island) in *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 789, states, "Since proper treatment has been given to those persons obedient to their parents and to those who are diligent and commendable and to the aged and the sick, the natives seem quite satisfied and on my own (Habuto Seiyō . . . the author) recent tour of the island the *Otona* frequently came to me to express their gratitude."

[12] Takakura Shinichirō, Tokugawa jidai ni okeru Ezojinko genshō no jijitsu oyobi sono genin ni taisuru ichi kosatsu (A study of the cause and effects of the decrease in Ezo population during the Tokugawa period), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 5 (4): 92-93.

age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

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[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

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forbade any Japanese to come into contact with the natives of stricken areas and exerted every effort solely to prevent the spread of disease into Matsumae itself. This policy was reversed by the Bakufu. The prohibition against the natives wearing straw raincoats and sandals was rescinded and the *Kaishō* were ordered to prepare these for distribution in abundance while the Ezo themselves were taught the art of making coats and sandals.[16] Doctors were assigned to each *Basho* to look after both Japanese and Ezo patients. Originally, six doctors were hired but the number rose to twelve when West Ezo was brought under Japanese adminstration.[17] The doctors were paid seven momme five bu per day plus a special allowance of three momme for those who served in Etorofu. Later the salary was changed to an amount of rice sufficient to support five people plus an allowance from the *Basho* of two momme five bu in silver and a special grant of five bu making a total of three momme per day.[18] In addition a doctor was paid seventy-five mon for each sick call.[19] Originally the doctors were sent from Edo but in later years doctors resident in Hakodate who had good reputations

were hired.

[16] Ezochi otorishimari narabi ni kaikoku no gi aifukume torihakarai kata mōshiage sōrō kakitsuke (A document on the matter of the policy of controlling the Ezo and opening up the country), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 552–553.

[17] Matsumae Hakodate jōshiki oiriyo oyoso mitsumori kakitsuke (Estimate of expenses at Matsumae and Hakodate for 1807) gives the following: "Doctors' wage . . . 270 ryō—this amount is for the employment of six doctors employed for one year at seven momme five bu per doctor per day." Another example can be found in the estimates for the year 1808 which sets down a total of 449 ryō for twelve doctors. Both these documents are in *Heishin Jōtetsu*.

[18] Evidence that those stationed at Etorofu received an extra allowance of three momme a day is seen in the estimates for 1806 under the heading "Special Allowances at *Basho*"—"288 ryō . . . this amount is for six doctors hired at seven momme per day plus an added allowance of three momme per day in silver for one doctor stationed at Etorofu." We have an actual example of this in an assignment order dated February 25, 1812. "Doctor Kume Yoshinaka, You have been assigned to Etorofu with a special allowance of three momme in silver per day." A further and different example may be cited as follows: "Hakodate Doctor Miura Gentoku: You have been hired by the Bakufu with an allowance to support five persons and a *Basho* allowance of two momme five bu per day in silver." An explanation of the phrase "allowance to support five persons" is found under the title "Oyatoiishi no kyūryō" (Wages of doctors hired by the Bakufu) in the "Hakodate Bugyō narabini shihai muki yakuyaku oyategyō oyoso tsumori torishirabe shō" [Written estimates of the Hakodate Magistracy and other administrators] which is in No. 3 of *Heishin Jōtetsu*: "An allowance to support five persons is equivalent to eight koku, seven to, five shō or eight ryō three bu." This amount is considerably less than the seven momme three bu per day previously mentioned.

[19] "Bakufu hired doctors assigned to a *Basho* shall be given an allowance of two ryō five bu in silver per day plus a special allowance of five bu making a total of three ryō. Furthermore, when the doctor travels on sick calls in the *Basho* an added allowance of seventy-five mon per day is granted." "Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . ."

were hired.[20] Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.[21]

One package of powder medicine	3 bu in silver
Five pieces of plaster each two inches square	3 bu in silver
Moxa treatment	100 mon per treatment
Medicine for eye diseases	1 bu 2 shu

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.[22] This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

[20] Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Hoishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812 — The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu — Kishuya Kihei (Seal)
Miura Gentoku (Seal)

[21] Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi. . . .

[22] According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō. . . ," it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

convinced that the captain was under an hallucination. I could only see rock after rock, huge pillar after huge pillar; but no entrance whatever.

"We are just going in," said the captain, laughing at my astonishment, and he gave orders to the quartermaster at the wheel to steer straight for one of the pillars. We were but a few yards from it when our craft was made to swing rapidly on her starboard side, and we turned round a gigantic shoulder of rock, to find ourselves in a narrow channel. One minute later we were in a pretty circular harbour, surrounded by high peaks—in fact, a kind of "fiord." The access to this harbour is certainly difficult to find, but when you are fairly in, it is seen to afford a well-sheltered anchorage. It has more the appearance of a small mountain lake than that of a sea-harbour; and undoubtedly it is a submerged crater. It is perfectly circular, and very deep, but not of large capacity. Directly opposite the entrance, on the shore, is a small narrow valley, on which is situated the village of the Kurilsky Ainu. Four men rowed me ashore, and I went to the village.

When the Japanese imported these Kurilsky Ainu to Shikotan, they allowed them to build their huts in their own way; but this done, a railing with a gate was erected, closing the entrance of the valley which overlooks the harbour, thus preventing the poor wretches from abandoning the island to resume their migratory habits, and return to their more northern homes. Inside this gate two rows of huts, exactly similar to those of the Yezo Ainu, have been constructed by the exiles. There are sixteen huts altogether, and not a single one of them is built over a pit. In Chapter IX. I have fully explained the characteristics and mode of living, which leaves no doubt as to these people being proper Ainu, and not pit-dwellers, as some have asserted; though of course their type is slightly modified by external conditions—a common occurrence in all races. Take a Londoner, a provincial, and a seaman, and though they be all three Englishmen, one will have a washed-out look, the other will be healthy and strong, but not so sturdy, wiry, and weather-beaten as the sailor. The same natural process is at work with this tribe of Ainu. They conform their life according to circumstances and places; and though they possess the same general characteristics as the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

rest of the Ainu, in some small details they cannot but differ from them.

Shikotan was a deserted island previous to these poor wretches being transplanted there by the Japanese Government. It does not abound in game, like Shimushir, Urup, or Poromushir, whence they were taken.

SHIKOTAN AINU.

The story of this tribe of Ainu is a sad one. Hunting, sealing, and fishing were their only aims in life, their only pastimes, the only things they lived for. At Shikotan they have none of these things. There is no big game; the only animal found being a beautiful species of white long-tailed fox. There are no large rivers at Shikotan; there is hardly any vegetation, and the whole island is nothing but a mass of barren rocks.

The food of the Kurilsky Ainu consisted chiefly of meat of bear and seals, berries, and eggs of sea-birds. They were a migratory people, and in their small cranky canoes they often crossed from one island to another, carrying with them all their property, consisting of skin garments and fishing and hunting implements, these latter the same as those employed by other Ainu. The dress of the men is shaped like a short tunic, made of sea-birds' skins, with the feathers inside. Some of the smart ones are trimmed with seal, and they are worn fastened round the waist with a girdle of sealskin or a belt of sea-lion hide, often ornamented with molten lead buttons or Chinese cash. The women's garment is much longer, and reaches nearly to the feet; it falls loosely, and has long sleeves covering the hands; it is fastened with a girdle in bad weather, and the gown is then pulled up to the knee, showing the long yellow boots. When carrying water or working this is also done, as it gives greater freedom to the limbs, making walking and all movement much easier. A red,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials.

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area.[1]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu

[1] Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.